

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. IV. No. 19.] London, Saturday, 12th November, 1803. [Price 10D

"We therefore rely on his Majesty's paternal wisdom for a watchful and unremitting attention to the situation and future conduct of the power, with whom we have negotiated: and we think it necessary more especially to assure his Majesty of our ready and firm support in that determination, which we trust his Majesty will henceforward steadily pursue, of resisting every fresh encroachment, which shall be attempted on the maritime, commercial, or colonial rights and interests of the British Empire. This our solemn declaration must, we believe, materially conduce to prevent the necessity which it is calculated to meet: and we trust, that his Majesty will also approve of our desire to support it, by a scale of naval and military defence adequate to the extent of our danger."—Address proposed by the New Opposition on the 13th of May, 1802.

673]

[674

TO THE EDITOR.

London, 8th Nov. 1803.

SIR,—Notwithstanding the check you have given to the vanity and ridiculous self-importance of some of the volunteers, I believe that the reflecting part of them, and of the public at large, admit the force of many of your observations, and only regret your attention had not been more frequently applied to the improving a system with the imperfections of which you seem so well acquainted; for, I consider you as admitting, that under proper regulations the volunteers may become useful in defending the country, and that your objects are, 1st. to prevent the danger of relying upon them for assistance which they cannot afford; and, 2d. to render them effective as far as they are capable of being made so.—In furtherance of the latter object, I shall, with your permission, offer a few remarks to the public.—You have justly observed, that all the volunteer corps are "composed generally of men of all ages, of delicate constitutions, and not a few of decrepid limbs."—"Lisping infancy and tottering old age in the same rank."—That such is the fact cannot be denied, and that corps so composed can be of no service against an enemy, few men of common sense will venture to expect. Many of the members no doubt, are capable of bearing the fatigue and hardship of a soldier's life, and of performing a soldier's duty; but, before any benefit can be derived from their spirit and exertions in this great cause, they must be selected, or, to use your own appropriate expression, "sifted" from the chaff with which they are mixed. I would, therefore, propose, that every member should be required to undergo an examination by a competent surgeon in the same manner as the regulars, and that such as are found fit for active service should be classed together, those who are deemed equal only to garrison duty, be set apart for that purpose, and such

as are unequal to the latter (and they are not few) be compelled to retire and avoid an useless sacrifice of their lives.—If an examination of this kind is proper in the regulars, surely it cannot be less so in the volunteers, and independent of humanity and policy, which independently require some such measure, the spirit which ministers give them credit for, demands in return that due care should be taken it be not made the means of sacrifice without a chance of benefit to their country.—I care not what method government pursue, but if it is necessary to have recurrence to a volunteer force, some plan should be speedily adopted for ascertaining that the men will be able to live beyond the comforts of their own homes, and march farther than to a review, or ministers are amusing the country while it is on the verge of destruction.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. S.

TO THE EDITOR.

Temple, 6th Nov. 1803.

SIR,—As I perceive in some persons a disposition to suppose that the volunteers of this country, as they are at present constituted, will be capable of offering a successful resistance to the French invaders, if unfortunately they should effect a landing on our coast, I beg leave to send you my sentiments on that subject, and on the immeasurable distance, which in point of military ability necessarily exists between the volunteer and the soldier of Great Britain.—The regular troops of this country, Sir, are taken from a class of men, who from their very birth have been inured to hardships of almost every description, whose bodies have through life been accustomed to daily fatigue, and whose limbs have been strengthened by constant and habitual exercise.—The volunteers on the other hand, have been for the most part from their cradle nursed on the lap of comparative indolence, and

their effeminate occupations have generally incapacitated them from active and vigorous exertion.—And, I believe, Sir, that a man, who up to the age of twenty has not been habituated to considerable bodily fatigue, will very rarely acquire that vigorous elasticity of fibre, and that strength of muscle which is absolutely necessary to the constitution of a good and an active soldier.—But let us for a moment, suppose the soldier and the volunteer set out upon their military career upon equal terms; and let us consider the very different modes of life which are pursued by each of them.—The soldier is employed at exercise *daily* throughout the year for three or four hours; when he quits the parade he still continues clothed in his military dress; and he is emphatically instructed that his most incumbent duty is to turn his whole mind to the duties and employments of his profession.—His food is of a simple, but at the same time of an invigorating nature, and he reposes his limbs at night on a bed which has not been made in a manner to pamper and enervate the human frame.—He has *seldom* the cares of a family to distract his attention or harass his mind, and he has *never* the occupation of any trade or profession to divert his thoughts from the strict performance of his various military duties.—On the other hand, the volunteer is, perhaps, in the field for about two hours on three days in a week, that is for about six hours out of the 168 (and have, perhaps, I allow, a greater portion of time than is usually allotted by him to the purposes of military instruction); as soon as he returns to his home, he throws aside his uniform, which from the little time he wears it is always cumbrous, irksome, and inconvenient to him; and together with his dress, he generally lays aside gladly all military ideas, and returns with alacrity to the exercise of a laborious trade, or of an active and busy profession.—He continues to live as usual on a comparatively luxurious diet, and he retires to rest on a soft and relaxing couch.—I ask it with confidence, Mr. Editor; can it be for a moment believed by any rational man that such a person is by a sort of magic, more wonderful than any of which we read in the Arabian Tales, and by a metamorphosis more unaccountable than any selected in the Fables of Ovid, to be transformed into a soldier capable of being opposed to the disciplined and hardy veterans of Buonaparte.—When I say this, Sir, I would wish to be understood, as not wishing to throw any reflection on a body of men, who have in a period of unexampled danger come forward in the best manner which go-

vernment would permit in defence of their country.—So far from it, Sir, I applaud their spirit, and I reverence their motives to action. But the fault is in the *whole system and original establishment of volunteer corps*.—A commercial nation ever has been, and ever must be, defended by regulars; nor can it be expected in a country, where, as in this, gold is the universal idol, that men will devote their whole attention to military pursuits, unless they are encouraged to do so by an adequate and a pecuniary remuneration; and unless their whole attention is directed to military pursuits, they never will be of any use in the military capacity.—In this point of view, Sir, I cannot but lament that the great sums of money which have been lavished by volunteers upon their cloathing, and upon their arms, together with the subscriptions which have been raised in the different counties and parishes throughout the kingdom, have not been applied towards the increasing of the regular forces on the establishment, the only measure which, in my opinion, can in times like the present be of any service in promoting the security and honour of the country.—I am, &c.

A. B.

TO THE EDITOR.

Bristol, 5th Nov. 1803.

SIR,—I own I have been surprised, that you should never have noticed in your Register, among the absurdities which the volunteering system, as it now stands, has produced; the ceremony of *consecrating* their colours. I own I have formerly understood, in Foreign services, where the religion is the Roman Catholic one, there was something of the same sort; but, in the Church of England, I am quite at a loss where to look for such an office. In the Newspapers, we are continually reading paragraphs, announcing the presentation of colours by Lady Somebody, to her husband, who commands the *corps*, with *neat and appropriate speeches*, and elegant breakfasts in marquees, afterwards, &c. &c. Surely this ought to be quite sufficient, without our feelings being insulted, and our common sense outraged, by a clergyman of the Church of England being brought into the farce, to consecrate these colours. I believe no troops in the world ever fought more bravely under, or have gone greater lengths after, their colours, than the English army; and when a regiment of the line is raised and completed, and their colours are sent to them, they do not need consecration, to follow them to the East or to the West.

Why, then, are our volunteers to require this new ceremony, to make them fight under theirs?—I am, Sir, yours,

ANTI-CHARLATAN.

TO THE EDITOR.

November 7, 1803.

SIR,—Having seen in your paper, in a letter from Ireland, signed Juverna, an attack on the character of a man, who will long live revered in the memories of such as value integrity and religious virtue, I must beg leave to remark upon it very shortly, that, even were the attack for political incapacity just, it ill becomes any man, who has a sense of the value of uprightness and religious zeal in a judge, whose chief object was ever to make the religion which he cherished and professed the rule and guide of his decisions, and to impress it on his hearers with an eloquence, because it arose from the hearts, more irresistible than can be credited by those who never heard or knew not how to feel the value of such a character. As pride is, perhaps, an essential in the character of a statesman, it may not be inexpedient to hint, that in the character alluded to it was a quality which did not exist. The writer of the Pursuits of Literature and Juverna may please themselves with their acumen, in finding blots in characters however luminous, though the former most handsomely, and to his honour in private, testified his respects to the character he only named to lower in his publication. But to the point. In public, the late most respectable Chief Justice always professed himself not to be a political man. Wit was a gift he never claimed. He felt as much as any man, the force of it in others, and the tenacity of a memory nearly self taught in classical and Latin writers would occasionally from its fulness produce quotations, which, however unconstructive critical wisdom may be disposed to consider them, were surely harmless, and, to those who have pleasure in witnessing the attainments of the human mind, undoubtedly, were pleasing. As to politics, except in the instance of the regency, to support the cause of his virtuous and beloved Sovereign, he rarely ever meddled with them, conceiving the situation of Judge to be one which claimed his first attention; the strict application of which, at last, destroyed a life, which the law in general acknowledge, and the public, finally, will find a public calamity. I did not think I should have intruded so long, but the respect amounting to filial reverence

which I delight in bearing to the memory of one, so deservedly claiming it, calls for this from me. Skillful and instructive as I acknowledge the writings of Juverna to be, I am sorry to have my respect much lessened for the author, from his unnecessary attack on a virtuous character, now unhappily no more. He should remember that at last without virtue the wisdom of the wise is vain.—I am your humble Servant,

CAMBRICUS.

Remarks, extracted from the Moniteur, relative to the Accommodation between England and Sweden, as also on the Explanatory Convention between England and Russia, concluded at St. Petersburg, 20th of October, 1801.

The third article of the last treaty excepts enemy's property from the exemption stipulated in favour of merchandize under a neutral flag. Thus, with one dash of the pen has been thrown into oblivion the most important of the principles proclaimed by the convention of 1780, and consecrated by the general assent of the continental nations. The fourth article subjects convoys to the right of visit, and regulates the details of the mode in which it is to be exercised.—Sweden and Denmark acceded in 1802 to the Convention of 17th June, 1801. The Emperor adhered to it by the 7th article of his declaration of the 7th of August last.—It is lamentable that the powers of the North should be obliged to abandon a principle which hitherto had appeared to them so important for the interests of commerce and the navigation of neutral states—that by which the flag covers the merchandize.—We may suppose, that when these powers consented to the visiting of convoys, they resolved no longer to send their ships of war to escort the merchant vessels of their subjects. The escort being in itself a proof that the vessels it protects have nothing on board that is prohibited by the treaties and regulations, it would be contrary to the dignity of those powers, that, notwithstanding this guarantee proceeding from themselves, the conveying ships should be subject to being visited, and that a mere English sloop of war should be able to stop their ships of the line as long as it pleases to protract the visit of their convoy.—In permitting the English to seize the property of their enemies on board neutral ships, they have neglected to reserve, in favour of the latter, a right which was secured to them by the *Consolato del Marc*, the only law which the English

can cite in favour of their pretensions. This law, which originated in times of ignorance and barbarism, while it declared enemy's property found in neutral vessels good prize, enacted that the captor should pay the out-fitter the stipulated freight.—At present the English seize enemy's property, without paying the freight.—England, however, did not think that the advantages given her by the Convention of the 17th of June, 1801, were sufficiently great; and Sweden was compelled to grant her an additional benefit, by authorizing her to retain, according to her caprice, a part of the maritime supplies which certain States of the Continent might endeavour to procure by the channel of Swedish vessels. This is the result of the convention concluded between England and Sweden on the 25th of July last.—[*The Moniteur having then given the text of the Convention with the Court of Stockholm, concludes its animadversions in the following terms:*—England thus exercises the right of pre-emption with respect to the reserved articles of merchandize; that is, retains them for her own use, not only when found in vessels bound to an enemy's port, but also when found in such vessels bound to neutral ports as appear to be in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy.—From the establishment of this hitherto unheard of right, the new creation of maritime despotism, it is evident that the merchandize subject to pre-emption cannot arrive on board Swedish vessels in the ports of the Continent but at the pleasure of the English.—England has exacted this new treaty of Sweden as the price of the tardy and partial justice which she is pleased to give her with regard to the value of the convoys detained for five years, and for which she at length pays her 6000 crowns of Hamburg currency. Not having the same bargain to make with the other powers, England will probably not obtain from them the same concessions; but there can be no doubt that she will make every effort to induce them to adopt the Convention of the 17th of June, 1801. It does not hitherto appear that the Court of Berlin, that of Naples, or even that of Lisbon, have departed from the principles of neutrality universally received in 1780. Besides a few variations in policy cannot alter principles. There are, doubtless, situations in which governments are influenced by combinations which, depending only on the calculations of the moment, suggest only dispositions according to circumstances, and thus produce no permanent principle, but only temporary conven-

tions. We cannot suspect the Northern Powers of being indifferent upon questions which interest the civilization of Europe and the liberty of the seas. Every state must see that these questions depend upon the event of the present war; and in this view also, as in so many other respects, the cause of France is the cause of all nations.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

NOTE delivered to the FOREIGN MINISTERS at CONSTANTINOPLE, on the 20th of September, 1803; declaring the intention of the SUBLIME PORTE to preserve a STRICT NEUTRALITY during the war.

In the war by sea and land, which began between France and England in the year of the Hegira 1207 (1792), the Porte which was in friendship with both powers, and neutral, signified its resolution by a note, that the ships of the said powers should not molest or attack each other on the coasts of the Ottoman Empire, under the cannon of the fortresses of Asia or Europe, or the Islands of the White Sea, or at a less distance from land than three miles; and that the respective Consuls should use every exertion to restrain those who would make such attacks in the vicinity of the harbours. It was then resolved, and the ordinance is now renewed, that the strictest inquiries should be made to arrest and punish such subjects of the Porte as should engage to serve on board privateers. No Mussulman, who is a subject, shall embark any commodities on board the ships of the said powers, without being provided with the necessary documents from their respective Consuls. When an engagement shall take place between the ships of the Belligerent Powers, no Captain of a Turkish ship of war, or any other Turkish subject, shall interfere in favour of either of the parties. And as the Sublime Porte, in the new war which has commenced between France and England, has determined to abide by the same system of neutrality between the English Court and the French Republic, it has transmitted the ordinance necessary for that purpose to his Highness the Capitan Pacha; and it will also be communicated in writing to all the Foreign Ministers.

CONVENTION between his BRITANNIC MAJESTY and the KING of SWEDEN. Concluded at London on the 25th of July, 1803.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, being equally desirous of promoting the good understanding which happily subsists between them, and of preventing the recurrence of those differences which have heretofore arisen respecting the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance concluded and signed at White-Hall, on the 27th day of October, 1661, have named and authorised for that purpose, viz. his Britannic Majesty, the Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, one of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and his Swedish Majesty, George Uldric Baron de Silverhjelm, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty, and Knight of the order of the Polar Star, who after having duly communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—Art. 1. In the event of one of the con-

tracting which the
gent, the
carry to
party, m
and othe
match
berts, gu
rests, bar
lets, helm
mail, con
of arms,
for the e
any othe
guard sh
diately se
der the p
parties s
liable to
the bellig
bringing
ports of
sions, or
rally all
for the e
likewise
equipmen
bars, ste
planks n
ed), and
of the ne
tories of
count of
shall, in
sing ther
ten per c
fair mar
tively, a
nification
Art. 3. I
ticle (no
with a p
tral cou
that the
demy, a
they we
be at li
indemni
penes; c
country
falling i
to purc
shall be
the por
were go
and nec
in bars,
deal, p
not be l
part of
ted to p
try, pro
Art. 5.
by his
jesty, a
in the
done.—
Pienip
his Sw
vention
be affi
Don

tracting parties being neutral during a war in which the other contracting party may be belligerent, the vessels of the neutral party shall not carry to the enemy or enemies of the belligerent party, money, arms, or bombs, with their fuses and other appurtenances, fire-balls, gunpowder, matches, cannon-balls, spears, lances, pikes, halberds, guns, mortars, petards, grenades, musket-rests, bandoliers, saltpetre, muskets, musket bullets, helmets, head pieces, breast plates, coats of mail, commonly called cuirasses, and the like kind of arms, or troops, horses, or any thing necessary for the equipment of cavalry, or pistols, belts, or any other instruments of war, or ships of war, and guard ships, nor any manufactured articles immediately serving for the equipment of the same, under the penalty, that if either of the contracting parties shall seize the same, these articles shall be liable to confiscation.—Art. 2. The cruisers of the belligerent power shall exercise the right of bringing in the ships of the neutral going to the ports of an enemy, laden with cargoes of provisions, or with cargoes of pitch, tar, hemp, and generally all unmanufactured articles whatever, serving for the equipment of ships of all descriptions, and likewise all manufactured articles serving for the equipment of merchant vessels, (herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being oak, and spars, however, excepted), and if the cargoes so exported in the bottoms of the neutral power, are the produce of the territories of the said neutral power, and going on account of the subjects thereof, the belligerent power shall, in that case, exercise the right of purchasing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten per centum upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England or in Sweden respectively, at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expenses.—Art. 3. If the cargoes specified in the preceding article (not being enemy's property) are proceeding with a professed destination to the ports of a neutral country, and are brought in under suspicion that their true destination is to the ports of the enemy, and it shall turn out upon due inquiry that they were really bound to neutral ports, they shall be at liberty to pursue their voyages, after being indemnified for their detention and necessary expenses; unless the government of the belligerent country, from a reasonable apprehension of their falling into the hands of the enemy, should desire to purchase them, in which case the full price shall be paid, which they would have obtained in the ports of the neutral country to which they were going, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expenses.—Art. 4. Herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being of oak, and spars, shall not be liable to confiscation or pre-emption on the part of the belligerent power, but shall be permitted to pass free in the ships of the neutral country, provided they are not an enemy's property.—Art. 5. The present convention shall be ratified by his Britannic Majesty, and by his Swedish Majesty, and the ratifications exchanged at London, in the space of two months, or sooner if it can be done.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Swedish Majesty, have signed the present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, the 25th day of July, 1803.

(L.S.) HAWKESBURY.

(L.S.) JORDAN ULRIK SIEVERHOLM.

PROCLAMATION of the BATAVIAN GOVERNMENT respecting NEUTRAL COMMERCE, dated on the 5th of July, and read in the Sitting of the Legislative Body on the 1st of November, 1803.

I. All such neutral vessels as are laden with iron, northern timber, and other articles necessary for ship building, and which cannot be procured from the North, shall be admitted into the harbours of this Republic, without being provided with the certificates mentioned in the second article of the said proclamation.—II. All neutral vessels, which have been absolutely compelled to enter the Kingdom of Great Britain, provided they have not there broken bulk, taken in any part of their lading, and provided their lading be not suspected, shall be allowed to enter the ports of this Republic.—III. That articles, whether the production of the soil of this Republic, or of the industry of its inhabitants, which, according to the third article of the said proclamation, must be taken in return, may also be introduced into this country; but in this case shall be subject to those regulations, and to the payment of those duties which have been established by the laws.—IV. That in general all articles which cannot be considered as coming originally from the Kingdom of Great Britain, or from any of its Colonies, may be brought into the harbours of this Republic, the above Proclamation of the 5th of July in other respects still remaining in force.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—On the 20th of September, the Sublime Porte caused a note to be presented to all the Foreign Ministers at Constantinople, declaring his intention to preserve the strictest neutrality, during the continuance of the present war.—The Turkish forces opposed to Paswan Oglou, have lately obtained an advantage over a body of troops, which he had dispatched on a predatory incursion into some of the northern countries, near Widdin.—The fleet of the Capitan Pacha was, on the receipt of the last intelligence, lying off the Island of Chio.—In answer to a remonstrance made to the Regency of Tunis, on the part of the British Government, against French privateers being suffered to bring their prizes into that port, it was stated, "that British vessels might, if they pleased, claim similar indulgences, with respect to captures made by them, from France or any other power."—Letters from Malaga, dated on the 8th of October, give information of the prevalence of an epidemical disease, to which great numbers of the inhabitants of that place have fallen victims. It rages with peculiar malignity, among the shipping in the port, and in those streets which lie contiguous to the harbour.—The last mail from Lisbon brings intelligence that

the sum which the Portuguese Government has consented to pay, as the price of its neutrality, is twenty millions of crusadoes, which is upwards of two millions sterling.

—The French and German newspapers speak confidently of a pacific negotiation now carrying on between the Court of Petersburg, and that of Berlin. The objects of it are said to be, the immediate relief of the north of Germany, and the restoration of peace between France and England. The last papers from Paris, however, assert that M. Champagny had made an official communication to the Emperor, that the last mentioned object of the negotiation had completely failed. — In consequence of an affray which took place between a small recruiting party of English, and another of French, at Moorbourg, a village near Harbours, the Senate of Hamburg has issued an ordinance forbidding all recruiting in its territory, by any of the Belligerent Powers, and declaring that it will be considered as a violation of its neutrality. —

Letters from Mannheim state, that Baron Thugot has lately made some efforts to regain the influence, which he formerly held at the Court of Vienna, but that the opposite party, at the head of which is Prince Charles, had frustrated his intentions. The Prince has again given his opinion, in the Council of State, in favour of the system of neutrality which Austria has adopted. —

At the commencement of the next year, the Prussian army is to be augmented by twenty thousand men, consisting of light cavalry, horse artillery, light dragoons, and infantry.

—Since the residence of the King of Sweden, at the Court of the Elector of Baden, an incessant exchange of couriers has taken place between the Cabinets of Stockholm and Petersburg. — The States of Hanover have been endeavouring to raise a loan in Portugal, but the security which they offered not being satisfactory, the terms were rejected. They have also made similar attempts in Germany, and, it is said, with no better success. — The Executive Commission at Hanover has been directed to purchase twenty-five hundred horses for the First Consul; and all the towns of the Electorate, which are situated on the direct road to France, are required to furnish twenty-five horses, every week, for the transportation of arms, &c. &c. to that Republic. —

Bonaparte is still at Paris, and held a diplomatic audience on the 23d, when the Chevalier D'Azzarra, Ambassador from his Catholic Majesty, presented his letters of credence, as Minister Plenipotentiary from the Queen Regent of Etruria,

Citizen Vos Van Steenwyke, gave in his letters of recall at the same time: and his Highness the Electoral Prince of Wirtemberg had an audience. — Three new Candidates have been recommended to the Conservative Senate, among whom is Boissy d'Anglas, the tribune, and Le Brun Rochemont, brother of the third Consul. — Considerable disturbances prevail in the countries bordering the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, in consequence of the violent contentions of some of the African Chiefs, who have even menaced Cape Town. — Two thousand men are daily employed in improving the harbour of Boulogne; and a new and complete basin is constructing in the harbour of Honfleur.

DOMESTIC. — The commission of Oyer and Terminer was opened, at Dublin, on the 29th ult. by the Lord Mayor, the right hon. Lord Viscount Avonmore, Chief Baron of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer, and the right hon. George Dally, third Baron of the said court. Quigley and Stafford were arraigned, but their trials were postponed. — Several persons have been recently arrested in different parts of Ireland on suspicion of having been engaged in treasonable practices. Among them are Mr. Tandy, a wine merchant, the son of Napper Tandy; Mr. Lawless, a brewer, the brother of Surgeon Lawless, who made himself conspicuous in the rebellion of 1798; and three others who held official situations under the provisional government. Six persons were also brought from Naas, in the county of Kildare, and warrants have been issued for one hundred and one others, in that neighbourhood. — A quantity of arms has been seized in a house near Nicholas Street. — A conspiracy has been discovered among some of the soldiers of the Cavan regiment of militia, stationed in Enniscorthy, but as it was neither well planned nor widely extended, the object, was soon frustrated. — A destructive fever is now raging in Newcastle, and, for some days past, has carried off a great number of persons; but the magistrates are pursuing such measures as they think will speedily check its progress. — A young man was arrested on Sunday last, at an inn in Holborn, on suspicion of treason, and after undergoing an examination before Sir Richard Ford, was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. — On the 5th instant, the Lord Chancellor, by virtue of his Majesty's commission, prorogued the Parliament to the 22d of November instant, when they will meet for the dispatch of business. — The court goes into mourning on the 10th instant, for the late hereditary Princess of Mecklenburgh

Schwe
on th
the 20
sued
parish
imm
amou
potato
during
consta
form,
in aid
gency
bers h
to their
"lem
"that
"alle
"and
"do
"the
"serv
"of
"Lon
"Ma
"til
"Ma
made
aldern
Bristol
private
lings
seven
cise.
conten
had al
magist
convic
fines,
as a pe
Geo.
gade c
compo
Mary-
corps
instant
ton.
appoin
the g
le-bon
were
Harrie
and,
the B
Severa
pened
lunte-
rent p
skilful
mers,
been

Schwerin, Princess of Russia; will change on the 17th, and go out of mourning on the 20th.—Circular letters have been issued to the officiating minister of every parish in Sussex, requesting them to give an immediate account to government, of the amount of the crops of grain, hay, and potatoes, raised in their respective parishes, during the year 1803.—The corps of constables, which it was recommended to form, in the different wards of the city, in aid of the civil power, in case of emergency, have begun to associate, and the members have taken the following oaths, previous to their complete admission. — “ I do solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, “ that I will be faithful, and bear true “ allegiance to his Majesty King George, “ and his heirs and successors.” — “ I “ do swear, I will well and truly execute “ the office of a constable, for the pre- “ servation of the peace, and suppression “ of riot and tumult in this City of “ London, under the direction of the Lord “ Mayor and Aldermen in this city, un- “ til I shall be discharged by the Lord “ Mayor.” — An information was lately made at Bristol, before the Mayor and two aldermen, by the treasurer of the Royal Bristol Light Horse Volunteers, against a private of that corps, for seventeen shillings and six-pence, which were due for seven days’ absence from roll-call and exercise. On the part of the defendant, it was contended, that the members of such corps had always the right of resigning; but the magistrates over-ruled all objections, and convicted the defendant in the amount of the fines, with the addition of double that sum, as a penalty, in pursuance of the act of 43d Geo. III. chap. 121, sec. 14.—A brigade of the Volunteers of the Metropolis, composed of the St. James’s, Bloomsbury, Mary-le-bonne, and Prince of Wales’s corps, was to be reviewed on the 10th instant in Hyde Park, by Earl Harrington. At ten o’clock, which was the hour appointed, the Bloomsbury corps were on the ground, and, at eleven, the Mary-le-bonne corps made their appearance, but were immediately ordered home, by Lord Harrington. Neither of the others came; and, after performing a few evolutions, the Bloomsbury corps were dismissed.—Several fatal accidents have recently happened among the members of the Volunteer-corps, in London, and in different parts of the country, from their unskilfulness in the use of arms. — The farmers, in different parts of Scotland, have been publicly requested by the clergy, to

thresh out all their corn, as quickly as possible, and have it immediately converted into meal, and so packed up, that it will be, at any time, ready to be removed into the interior of the country.—Lord Pelham’s appointment to the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, was confirmed by his Majesty, after the levee held at St. James’s, on the 9th instant.—It is said that his predecessor Lord Liverpool, retires on a pension; and that Lord Hawkesbury will be called up to the House of Peers, previous to the next meeting of Parliament.

MILITARY.—General Berthier, minister of war, after having inspected the principal fortresses, camps, and ports in the Batavian republic, set out on his return to Paris, on the 23d of October.—The head-quarters of the French and Batavian army, which are assembled in the territories of the Batavian republic, are to be established at Utrecht, where the greatest part has arrived. Two battalions of the 104th brigade, arrived there, from Zealand, on the 27th ultimo, and two of the 11th, from Gouda, on the 28th. The whole of the troops, which will be collected there, will be formed into regiments, conformably to the system recently adopted by the First Consul.—The third battalion of the Batavian infantry, which was encamped on the downs, near Krantje Lek, has been marched through Haarlem to Amsterdam; and the first battalion will be marched to the Briel, and the Helvoet, where it will be followed by the regiment of Saxe-Gotha, from Delft.—The military preparations at Brussels, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, St. Omer, and Boulogne, have all been minutely inspected by the minister of war. At Brussels, he gave directions that all the artillery and horses, which had not been sent to head-quarters, should be immediately sent to Bruges, where he gave orders for completing the expedition by all possible means.—General d’Avoust’s army, which amounts to nearly 60,000 men, will be immediately embarked at Breskens, Ostend, and Dunkirk, where a detachment of the consular guards has just arrived.—General Demarrais, one of the aides-de-camp to the First Consul, has been appointed to the inspection of the armies on the coast, between Brest and Concale; and General St Sebastiani has a similar appointment for those between the mouth of the Vilain and Brest.—General Maiker and Billiard, have also received appointments in the army intended for the invasion of England.—The camp near Villers Cotterets, Chantilly and Compiègne consists, at present, principally of dragoons, under the command of General Baraguay d’Hilliers. The

infantry in Switzerland has received orders to join the camp, and that army will then be commanded by General Ney. The cavalry will remain in Switzerland some time longer, under General Barbon, and will receive reinforcements from France.—The troops encamped at Shorncliffe, under General Moore, were inspected on the 1st inst. by Lieutenant-General the Earl of Chatham: many persons of distinction were present at the review.—Colonel Wolff, and the 70th regiment, have left the camp, on their route to Portsmouth, where they are to be embarked for the West-Indies.—A party of five hundred men is constantly employed in erecting a battery at Cop Point, near Folkestone.—In the course of the last week, three detachments of the 9th battalion of the army of reserve, commanded by Lord Craven, passed through Chester, on their way to Liverpool, where they will embark for Ireland. Several detachments of the 8th battalion have already been sent from there, for the same destination.

—On the 6th inst. a considerable quantity of artillery passed through town, for the west of England; and, on the day following, twelve pieces of ordnance, together with howitzers and ammunition waggons, passed through for Tynemouth.—On the 4th inst. Lord Moira, attended by Lieutenant-General Vyse, and the other officers of the staff, reviewed about ten thousand men, on Portobello Sands, near Edinburgh. The right wing was formed of the first brigade, commanded by Major-General Sir James St. Clair Erskine, and consisting of the royal artillery, third regiment of dragoon guards, Edinburgh N. B. militia, mid. Lothian V. infantry, and Forfarshire N. B. militia; and of the third brigade, commanded by Colonel the Earl of Dalkeith, and consisting of the Renfrewshire N. B. militia, Dumfries N. B. militia, and Mid. Lothian V. cavalry: the left wing was formed of the fourth brigade, commanded by Colonel Campbell, and consisting of R. E. V. artillery, Argyleshire N. B. militia, E. R. reg., and 1st. regiment R. E. V.; and of the second brigade, commanded by Brig. Gen. Earl of Dalhousie, and consisting of 1st. bat. 2d reg. R. E. V., royal Leith volunteers, 2d bat. 2d reg. R. E. V., 18th regiment of foot, and R. M. L. vol. artillery.

NAVAL.—It is stated in the foreign papers, that the Batavian naval force, in the Texel, amounts to ten sail of the line, several frigates, and about four hundred armed merchant ships, besides a great number of schuyts with covered decks.—At Brussels, and the different ports of Belgium, an embargo has been laid on all merchant vessels; and their crews have been put into requisition, to aid in

the invasion of England. A similar measure was adopted at Dunkirk, on the 15th of Oct.—Above two hundred transports are assembled at Ostend; and all sailors and fishermen, and boys above twelve years old, are ordered to be in readiness to embark, the moment they may receive warning.—On the 16th ultimo, a convoy of eighteen gun-boats, besides several small vessels got safely out of Havre, and joined the flotilla at Boulogne.—On the same day, a flotilla of twenty-six armed vessels, and several transports made good their passage from St. Maloes to Brest, whence they will sail for the place of their destination.—The French squadron, now in the harbour of Ferrol, consists of one ship of 84 guns, and three of 74: that in Corunna, of one ship of 84 guns, and two frigates of 44 guns. There are, besides, a Batavian 74 gun ship and two frigates at Ferrol. Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, off those harbours, consists of three ships of 84 guns, three of 74 guns, and two frigates.—The British naval force in Bantry Bay, consists of seven sail of the line and several frigates; and, it is said, will immediately be increased.—The large fishing-boats of Brighton are to be furnished with false decks, &c. for the purpose of taking on board, one and two 12-pound carronades to annoy the French, if they should approach the coast of Sussex.—The vessels employed in the defence of the Thames are one of 40 guns, and nine of 24 guns.—A very severe press took place on the river, during the night of the 9th instant; and as no respect, whatever, was paid to protections, a great number of excellent men were obtained for the navy.—On the same night, a press-gang at Margate took some persons, whom the peace officers of the town attempted to rescue, contending that they were improperly taken: the press-gang, however, vexed at their opposition, seized the whole party, and took them on board ship.—On the morning of the 31st ultimo, six French sloops, some of which were armed, came out of Etaples, under convoy of a large gun-brig, and stood eastward, towards Boulogne. Captain Honeyman, in the Leda, immediately made signal to the Harpy and the Lark, which were in company, to begin the chase; but when he came off Boulogne, he discovered the Admiral Mitchell cutter, commanded by Lieut. Sheppard, who immediately ran down, within musket-shot, and commenced a well-directed attack, which he continued for two hours and a half, under the batteries of Patel, and finally succeeded in driving the brig and one of the sloops on shore. Notwithstanding the superior force of the enemy, who mounted twelve 32-pounders, the Admiral

Mitchell only two others, b
Lieutenan
brig, Con
in with
gun-boat,
rigged, a
nant, tw
cers and
line, and
long 18-p
twenty-th
sabres, p
patches b
Office an
Smith, w
Antelope
Holland
crowded
tions for
readiness

TO THE

My L
letter,*
nions the
cated to
to which
has been
other wit
their mu
triple, an
instance,
trod upon
partial c
individua
in every
sions as
respect,
to the
plunged
they we
enemy
however
that spir
insubord
has, in s
and an i
described
Dover.†
“ neral
“ Pitt,
“ view
“ 500,

* See
† Pub
of the 3d

Mitchell sustained but little injury, and had only two men severely wounded, and two others, but slightly.—On the 8th instant, Lieutenant Chambers, in his Majesty's gun-brig, *Conflict*, while cruising off Calais, fell in with, and captured the French national gun-boat, No. 86. The gun-boat is lugger-rigged, and is manned with one sub-lieutenant, twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates of the 36th regiment of the line, and six seamen. She is armed with one long 18-pounder, and one long 8-pounder, twenty-three stand of arms, complete, with sabres, pistols, and small arms.—Dispatches have been received at Lord Hobart's Office and at the Admiralty, from Sir Sidney Smith, who is arrived at Yarmouth, in the *Antelope*: they state that every place in Holland where troops can be embarked is crowded with boats, and that the preparations for invasion are in a state of complete readiness.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD FOLKESTONE.

LETTER II.

MY LORD,—Since the date of my former letter,* some facts, illustrative of the opinions there expressed, have been communicated to the public. The state of discipline, to which the Volunteer-corps have attained, has been displayed in their shooting one another with the wadding; in the bursting of their muskets, from the effect of double, triple, and quadruple charges; and, in one instance, in the killing of a man, because he trod upon the heel of his file-leader. These partial consequences of awkwardness and of individual passion, though they must awaken, in every reflecting mind, serious apprehensions as to what would take place, in this respect, amongst the same persons, if exposed to the hardships of actual service, and plunged into the confusion, which, as far as they were concerned, the presence of an enemy would inevitably produce, are not, however, a thousandth part so terrific as that spirit of self-conceit and of consequent insubordination, not to say mutiny, which has, in several places, made its appearance, and an instance of which is but too amply described in the following account from *Dover*.†—"Sunday," [30th ultimo], "General Dundas, Lord Chatham, and Mr. Pitt, went to Dover, by appointment, to view the Volunteers, when, instead of 500, there were scarcely 200. Among

"the absentees was *the Adjutant and several Officers*. This awkward circumstance induced Mr. Pitt, who attended parade, to inquire into the cause of so unusual and extraordinary a relaxation of their military duties, and he was informed, the whole corps were highly offended at the conduct of Major Shee, who commanded them; and, that, it was their determination *not to serve any longer, if that gentleman was not immediately removed*. This declaration gave much uneasiness to the Lord Warden, as he entertains a very high opinion, not only of the military character of Major Shee, but of his merits and deservings in private life. Mr. Pitt, therefore, requested the gentlemen then under arms, to speak out their grievances; and said, that, if he found any just cause of complaint, they might be assured he would afford them instant redress. The Volunteers, on this occasion, were addressed in companies, and they all declared, that it was impossible for any man, or body of men, to entertain a higher opinion of Major Shee's military character than they did; but, in addressing them, when in the field, he so far lost sight of the gentleman, as frequently to swear at the corps, and had even descended to use the very extraordinary and degrading epithet of '*damned scoundrels*!' This they could by no means submit to, as they were *British soldiers, assembled in defence of their King and Country*; and although it was their determination to give up a certain portion of their time in learning the use of arms, they would not purchase instruction at so dear a rate. Major Shee, who was then on the ground, appeared sensibly affected on this occasion, and in a manner that must reflect the highest honour on his character, addressed the corps: he said, that 'he was extremely concerned, that a gust of passion should have occasioned him to utter expressions so unworthy of himself, and so entirely undeserved by the gallant defenders of the town of Dover.'—'I request of you, therefore,' (said this brave and excellent officer) 'to bury what has passed in a friendly oblivion!'—One such example, my Lord, would, in an army, set the whole into an inextinguishable blaze of mutiny. The sequel is not related: we are not told, whether 'the gentlemen' were satisfied, or, whether they persisted in demanding the dismissal of their commander: nor, is it, indeed, of much consequence, which way the matter terminated; for, the

* See p. 623, et seq.

† Published in the *Star* and other newspapers of the 3d instant.

humiliation of Major Shee, and the triumph of "the gentlemen," were each of them so complete in their kind, that, without any additional circumstance, they have indelibly stamped the character of the Volunteer-corps.—The words, imputed to Major Shee, were not necessary: were not proper: were not decorous; because cursing never can be so. But, it is, nevertheless, true, that phrases of this sort are made use of, and very frequently made use of, by the officers in the army and the navy; nay, by *all* the officers in the army and the navy, some half-score, perhaps, excepted. I will venture to say, that there is not a commandant in the regular service, nor a captain in the fleet, who has not, ten thousand times, addressed soldiers or sailors under the appellation, made use of by Major Shee; and yet we have never yet heard of mutinies, either in the army or the navy, upon any such miserable pretext. It is very easy for persons, who have never exercised any command except over their wives and children, to moralize on the military vocabulary; but, were those same persons to be placed at the head of a body of soldiers, for whose appearance, punctuality, expertness, and even *docility*, they were rendered responsible, they would soon cease to wonder at the passion which they observe in, and the harsh language they hear from, military commanders. Besides, it is not passion from which the *harsh* expressions (I do not say *cursing*) of an officer always proceed: the use of such expressions is often dictated by cool reflection; for, it is not to be questioned, that there are certain natures not to be wrought upon by gentleness; and, therefore, a judicious officer will always suit his language to the persons, on whom it is intended to operate. In the regular service indiscriminating harshness, whether in words or in actions, is always accounted a fault, both in officers and non-commissioned officers; but, in estimating their merits, while their severity is remembered, their *zeal* is never forgotten; and, this latter is a quality so indispensably necessary, and so naturally productive of severity towards the men, that, amongst the non-commissioned officers, all of whom are selected for their real military merit, a considerable degree of austerity and harshness is ever regarded as the proof of excellence. Upon the same principle Adjutants and other active officers are selected; and, we find, that, in the instance before us, the *zeal* and excellent military qualities of the Major were, on all hands, readily allowed. The truth is, my Lord, that, if an officer knows the duties of his corps,

his anger at those who neglect them will ever be in an exact proportion to his zeal for the welfare and honour of that corps; and, as anger will vent itself in angry expressions, zealous officers never will be able to exist, where there is no law to suppress mutiny and clamour; and, therefore, if it were possible, that the mass of the officers, now appointed to the Volunteer-corps, should ever become what one would wish officers to be, they would certainly, as in the case of Major Shee, have no men to command.—The transaction at Dover affords a striking proof of what has been so frequently urged against the Volunteer-corps, that is, that they would either not march at all on actual service, or, marching, would introduce indiscipline and mutiny into the ranks of the army. The day, on which Major Shee's corps was called out, was a sort of review day: General Dundas, Lord Chatham, and Mr. Pitt, went to Dover, we are told, *by appointment*, to view this corps. One would have thought, that, upon such an occasion, considering, too, the local situation of Dover, and the fatal effect which a mutiny there might have; one would have thought that any one of these considerations would have been sufficiently powerful to produce a suspension of animosity for twenty-four hours, at least. No; to say the truth, one would not have thought so. It was a fine opportunity for the corps to humble their commandant, an object which they preferred very far before their reputation as military men, and which they would have preferred still farther before fighting the French. And, this is the description of men, whom, even to the exclusion of the regulars and the militia, we honour with the name of "our *defenders*!" This is the sort of force, the establishment of which, according to the Commander in Chief's opinion, enables us "to hurl back" on our enemies the threats which they "have presumed to vent against us!" That men's demands will rise with the rise in the value of their services is a fact too evident to be disputed: every day's observation proves that this is a truth holding good in all situations of life; and, those who have paid even the slightest attention to military concerns, will not be at a loss for numerous instances to shew, that, amongst soldiers in particular, disobedience, if ever it makes its appearance at all, is sure to rise to its highest pitch in times of the greatest need. What reliance, then, if the enemy were to land, are we to place on men, who could not restrain their mutinous disposition till after a review? The review was the

time the
said the
' our
' want
' is the
' to re
Pitt ca
concess
concess
loss to
to per
mande
tainty,
been in
courage
evitably
tinously
in the
will ser
as for n
think h
a judg
teer sys
my, we
actual s
to supp
been in
regimen
stead of
houses,
ground,
exempt
which t
the dis
having
that they
" *defen*
your lon
low, th
with mu
maintain
well as
at Shor
Dover
God for
encamp
to refuse
comman
Moore w
conduct
were to
to re ac
scene of
tacle of
ed, can
dination
every reg
low, tha
have her
possible,

time they chose for their purpose. "Now," said they, "the Major will be mortified at our absence; now is the time when he wants us to appear; and, therefore, now is the time to keep away, now is the time to reduce him to our terms." How Mr. Pitt came to advise, or to sanction, the concession, the humiliating and degrading concession, made by the Major, I am at a loss to divine; for, I think, he could not fail to perceive, that the supporting of the commander, at the risk, or even with the certainty, of breaking up his corps, would have been infinitely less mischievous than the encouragement, which the concession will inevitably give to all those who may be mutinously disposed, in every volunteer-corps in the kingdom. The proceedings at Dover will serve as a precedent for officers as well as for men; for, if Mr. Pitt yields, who will think himself bound to resist?—To form a judgment of the effects, which the volunteer system is likely to produce upon the army, were the volunteers to be called out on actual service, we have only, for a moment, to suppose, that the corps of Major Shee had been in camp, or in barracks, along with the regiments of the line or of the militia, instead of being at Dover, living in their own houses, separate even from each other. The ground, my lord, on which they claim an exemption from harsh language, and on which they found their right of demanding the dismissal of their commandant for having used such language towards them, is, that they are "*British soldiers, assembled in defence of their King and country*;" and your lordship will, I am sure, readily allow, that the same pretensions may, and with much more propriety, be set up and maintained by every regular regiment, as well as every regiment of militia, now lying at Shorne-Cliff camp. If, therefore, the Dover "defenders" had been, or, (which God forbid!) if they were hereafter to be encamped at Shorne-Cliff; if they were again to refuse to attend their duty, unless their commandant was dismissed; if General Moore were to imitate, in this respect, the conduct of Mr. Pitt, and if Major Shee also were to be prevailed on, or even permitted, to react his submissive and humiliating scene of concession; if this shocking spectacle of indiscipline were thus to be exhibited, can it be imagined my lord, that all subordination would not almost instantly cease, in every regiment in the camp? Nor can I allow, that the existence of cases, such as I have here supposed, would be rendered impossible, or even improbable, by placing the

volunteer-corps under martial law; for, it would be the height of folly to suppose, that the mere proclaiming of that law would work any very great change in the temper and dispositions of the volunteers. Besides, here comes the application of the remark, which I made in my last letter, that to subject the corps to martial law would be perfectly useless, unless persons could be found duly and strictly to execute that law. It was observed, that the officers of the volunteer-corps, selected from amongst the tradesmen of the parishes, to which the corps severally belong, would never inflict punishment upon their equals, their friends, neighbours, and customers; but would, on the contrary, be much more disposed to participate in the feelings and discontents of, and to make common cause with the men; an observation, which has already been fully verified by the corps at Dover, where we find, amongst the mutinous absentees, "*the adjutant and many of the officers*." What, then, my lord, could have been done, if this case had happened at Shorne-Cliff? A regimental court-martial could not have been held in the Dover corps; before a general court-martial the officers of the corps would not have brought their men; orders for that purpose might have been issued, but such orders would not have been obeyed; and, therefore, no mode of punishment, no means of putting an end to the mutiny, and to stop its contagious progress, would have remained, except that of drawing out the other regiments of the camp, surrounding the encampment of the Dover "defenders," and either making them prisoners, or shooting them; a dreadful remedy certainly, but the only one, by which the evil could possibly have been cured.—And, my lord, at what a moment should we have to apprehend dangers like this! At the moment when the enemy would be upon the coast, and, "*in force upon the coast*," too; for, until then the volunteers are not to be put under martial-law, and are not to be marched from their homes; so that, the only source of consolation that remains, is the hope that these assemblages of citizen-soldiers will stay away from the scenes of real service, a hope which, thank God, there is, at present, every reason to confide in;—

For, in that universal call,
Few Volunteers will be guard mounters;
They'll cry, "ye shops upon us fall!
"Conceal and cover us, ye counters!" *

* Swift.

—If, however, contrary to all reasonable expectation, the ministers should hold this miserable system together, and should so far persevere and succeed in it as to drive twenty or thirty thousand of the volunteers into the camps, or quarters of the army, I sincerely believe, that the country will, if the French invade us with a great force, be overrun; that the monarchy and the church will be destroyed, and that we, or what remains of us, shall become the most wretched slaves that ever were suffered to disgrace the human shape.—Believing thus, my lord, it is very natural, that I should use my utmost endeavours to produce such a change of system as will give us, in lieu of this semblance of soldiery, a real and effective military force; a force which shall not only place us in perfect security against invasion, both now and at all future times, but that shall, in an offensive point of view, render us constantly formidable to the enemy. Before, however, I enter on this last and most important branch of the subject, it will be necessary to take a slight view, at least, of the other parts of our present defensive system, of the other joints and rivets of that coat of mail, which is now weighing us down to the earth, and, to say the truth, in which we do, figuratively speaking, bear no very distant resemblance to the mercenary pageant, who, as it were to burlesque and libel the profession of arms, is, at this moment, gracing the shop-keeping procession to Guild-hall.—The people of this country, my lord, are deceived in many things relating to their situation, but in nothing so completely as in respect to the strength of the army, by which they are to be defended. The army estimates would the regular army to consist of about 120 or 140 thousand men; and, as people know, that since these estimates were laid before Parliament, the ministers have repeatedly declared, that the recruiting service went on more successfully than ever; they suppose, especially when they take into the account the 50,000 men of the army of reserve, that we have an immense disciplined regular army; and that, therefore, though the volunteer-system should prove to be a thing of mere show, and should fall to pieces upon the first attempt to put it in motion, we are still secure behind the great and solid rampart of the regular army. What, then, will these deluded people say, when they are told, that there is not, in the whole of his Majesty's European dominions, 50,000 disciplined regular infantry? *Fifty thousand*, I repeat, in words, lest the incredibility of the fact should induce a belief of some error in

the figures; and, when I say fifty thousand, I stretch the numbers to the utmost, well knowing, and positively asserting, that, of the sort of troops I have here described, there is not now, in the whole island of Great Britain, *twenty-five thousand*! Of the army of reserve there have been collected about 33,000 men; but, that these men cannot be, as yet, fit to meet an enemy need not be stated. They would, however, be of some service. They would guard prisoners, if we were to have the good fortune to take any; they would escort baggage waggons; they would, with some assistance, defend field fortifications; they would perform all the fatigue duties of the army; and, therefore, though a considerable part of the 33,000 have, as yet, scarcely left the recruiting dépôts, their effective force may, probably, be estimated at that of 8,000 men. The militia, which is not more than two-thirds full, consisting as it does almost entirely of raw recruits, and being, from the very nature of its establishment, a force, which, at best, is very far indeed inferior to the line, cannot be regarded as containing a power of combat more than equal to that of 25,000 effective regular infantry. Of our cavalry, I, in this calculation, take no notice; because, it is evident that, by infantry we shall be attacked, if we are attacked at all; and, to the attack of infantry, infantry alone can be opposed. Artillery, indeed, will be of great importance; and, in this respect, we are, thanks to the care of the last ministry, tolerably well supplied; but, still, to fight infantry there must be infantry: artillery not well guarded and supported is nothing, and cavalry are of no use against the body of an unbroken army. Those, then, who are of opinion with me, that the volunteers can never be employed on actual service, will clearly perceive, that the whole infantry force, wherewith we have to defend the island of Great Britain, consists of *fifty eight thousand men*, scattered along the coast of Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, and Essex; for, as to the rest of the island, it is left in a state perfectly defenceless. Precisely *where* these troops are stationed it is unnecessary to state; it is evident that 25,000 of them could not, even after *two days'* notice, be assembled together at *any one point*; and, therefore, if we admit the probability of the French effecting a landing of fifty, or forty, or thirty, or twenty, or even ten thousand men, how utterly inadequate is our force to the objects, which the ministers have in view?—It will be urged in reply, that it is impossible to have an army on every part of the coast; that to

line a c
would ta
of the is
soldiers
true: in
ago, end
of the H
it is imp
for the d
coast; a
this im
strongly
but, thos
monstran
certainly
bility of
to have,
within p
very usef
lar army
Britain, s
colonies
our imm
"fidenc
tion of fi
question
are cont
from the
who are,
an army
half of w
of Engla
how it i
raised, i
gers, it
a little
we had,
consider
cretary
what wa
ministry
of parlia
sides its
sion, is,
worthy
"will,"
"that t
hastily, i
wisely, r
try] "w
"of Oct
"of pea
"arms, 2
"luntee
"these,
"have
"amoun
"a force
"reason
"expen

line a coast of five or six hundred miles would take more than the whole population of the island, supposing there to be as many soldiers as there are souls. This is certainly true: it is a truth which your lordship, long ago, endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the House of Commons. Most assuredly, it is impossible to provide a particular force for the defence of every particular part of the coast; and, it was under the conviction of this impossibility, that your lordship so strongly disapproved of the *defensive system*; but, those who have, in spite of every remonstrance, persisted in that system, can certainly have no right to plead the impossibility of rendering it complete.—We ought to have, exclusive of a militia, which, kept within proper bounds, might be rendered a very useful auxiliary force, an army, a regular army of 200,000 men, 120,000 in Great Britain, 50,000 in Ireland, and 30,000 in the colonies; and, why we have not, with all our immense “capital, credit, and confidence,” such an army, out of a population of fifteen millions of souls, is surely a question, which may be asked by those, who are continually bid to hope for deliverance from the poverty and misery of France, and who are, nevertheless, told, that France has an army of five hundred thousand men, one half of whom are destined for the invasion of England. But, my lord, before we inquire how it is that a larger army has not been raised, in consequence of our present dangers, it appears to be necessary to examine a little into the reasons why the army that we had, at the close of the last war, was, in considerable part, *disbanded*. The late Secretary at War, Mr. Yorke, in answer to what was, on this subject, urged against the ministry, at the opening of the last session of parliament, made a defence, which, besides its being but fair to cite it on this occasion, is, from its intrinsic curiousness, well worthy of your lordship’s attention. “I will,” said he, “now proceed to show, that these charges” [charges of having hastily, improvidently, and, of course, unwisely, reduced the armed force of the country] “were *without foundation*. On the 1st of October, 1801, when the preliminaries of peace were signed, there were, under arms, 250,000 men of all descriptions, volunteers and yeomanry corps excepted; of these, 123,343 men, of all descriptions have been reduced. **FIRST**; the cavalry amounted, at that time, to 25,000 men; a force *not thought necessary*; and, for that reason, as well as because it was the most expensive, the reduction commenced with

“it, and 10,439 men of that description were reduced. **SECONDLY**; the militia of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting to 71,000 men, were *discharged*. It is *understood*, that the militia is always to be called out, at the commencement of a war, and discharged on the conclusion of peace; but, **THIRDLY**, the fencible regiments came more strictly under this description, and were, therefore, *immediately disbanded*, to the number of 20,679. **FOURTHLY**, the invalids, to the number of 5,172 were reduced, because it had been resolved to form the out pensioners into a more effectual force. **FIFTHLY**, the foreign corps, to the number of 8,945 men, were reduced, because this was a force, which we were glad to spare, and which, when any reduction was necessary, we thought it most politic to reduce, for, when British troops were disbanded, we would think of maintaining foreigners, unless they were in situations, where we could not dismiss them? **SIXTHLY**, all other descriptions of men *dismissed* amounted to 7,025.”—Mr. Secretary Yorke is a good honest English gentleman, my lord; but, as your lordship may have frequently had occasion to observe, he is by no means the happiest at an argument, and particularly at a defence. He sets out, in the present instance, with a promise to show, that the charge, advanced against ministers by Mr. Windham and others, of having unwisely reduced the armed force of the country, is *without foundation*; and, in order to make good this promise, he acknowledges that the ministers did, instantly upon the signing of the peace, reduce the army, from 250,000 to 126,000 men; that is to say, that, while, as it now appears by the official correspondence, they had every possible proof of the hostile disposition of the enemy, they actually reduced the army to one half of its numbers. But, the reasons, on which this reduction is justified forms the most curious part of the speech of Mr. Yorke. **FIRST**, says he, we reduced the cavalry from 25,000 to 14,000 men, because so large a force as 25,000 was *not thought necessary* by the ministers! Nobody ever had asserted the contrary; nobody ever hinted, that the ministers did think so large a force necessary. The charge preferred against them was, that they had reduced the army “hastily, improvidently, and unwisely;” and not that they had reduced it, at the same time that they thought it ought not to be reduced, and, of course, had reduced it wickedly and traitorously.—**SECONDLY**, 71,000 militia were

instantly discharged, because it was *understood* that militia are always to be discharged at the conclusion of a peace. But, by whom was it so understood? There was no law enjoining an instantaneous discharge. It was matter of discretion; and, therefore, as in the former case, the charge against ministers remains invalidated. — **THIRDLY**, he tells us, that upon the same principle, of vague construction, the fencible regiments were *immediately disbanded*, to the number of 20,679 men, a fact, with which his accusers were but too well acquainted, but which, most assuredly, they never expected to hear stated as matter to disprove their allegation. — **FOURTHLY**, the invalids to the amount of 5,172 were *reduced*, because it had been resolved to form them into a more effective force; and, it is true, that this formation has now actually taken place; but it had not taken place when the charge of hasty and improvident reduction was made against ministers; nor, if the war had not forced the measure upon them, would it have taken place to this hour, as is very evident from the circumstance of the persons composing these corps having been suffered to retire to their several counties, parishes, and homes, whence they were, upon the near approach of the rupture, called in to the several garrisons, at a considerable expense to the public, and at an immense inconvenience and loss to themselves, some of them, officers as well as men, being thereby reduced from a comfortable state to perfect beggary. — **FIFTHLY**, says the Secretary, we dismissed 8,945 foreign troops, because this was a force, which we were *glad to spare*, and which *we thought it most politic to reduce*, because it would have been wrong to maintain foreigners, when it was *necessary* to disband British troops! — I dearly love this mode of reasoning, my lord. It is so softly, so sweetly childish, that one would almost imagine that the orator had yet his mother's milk within his lips. First, he should have obtained from his accusers, an acknowledgment, that it *was* "necessary" to disband British troops," on the negative of which very assertion their accusation was founded. They never said, that the *ministers* were not glad to spare the 9,000 foreign troops; they never said or insinuated, that the *ministers* did not think it politic to reduce these excellent corps, for which we would now almost give our eyes; they only said, that *they* themselves would not have spared the foreign troops, that *they* did not think it politic to reduce them; and, that, therefore, they charged the ministers with making, in this respect, a hasty, an

improvident, and unwise reduction. — **SIXTHLY**, Mr. Yorke acknowledges, that, besides the foregoing numbers, 7,025 infantry were dismissed, without having an undeniable claim to their discharge; and, of course, they could be reduced from no other motive, or, at least, no other good motive, than that of economy. — Thus, then, my lord, allowing, for a moment, that the ministers were compelled instantly to discharge all the militia and the fencibles, and that they were wise in dispersing over the kingdom the men belonging to the corps of invalids, still there remain,

Of cavalry,	10,493
Of Foreign corps,	8,945
Of other infantry,	7,025 men.

Making a total of 26,463 regular disciplined soldiers, whom no law or usage furnished an excuse for discharging, who had not the shadow of a title to their discharge, and the far greater part of whom even wished to remain in the service. This number, my lord, surpasses that of the total of the regular infantry now in Great Britain; it is nearly equal to that of the raw men, who have been collected together by the Army of Reserve law, and who, by the time that 26,000 of them have been enlisted for general service, will have cost the country, 1,300,000*l.* at the least farthing, to say nothing of the plague and vexation of the ballot, and to pass over, for the present, the more serious considerations of their vast inferiority, in point of discipline, to the 26,000 men discharged, the shocking drunkenness and debauchery, which their high bounties must inevitably introduce into the camps and garrisons of the kingdom, and the vast injury, indeed the total stagnation, which those enormous bounties have produced in the regular recruiting for the regiments of the line. — And, my lord, what were the *reasons*, the weighty reasons, for dismissing these 26,000 men? Why, the 10,493 men of the cavalry were "not thought necessary," and were, besides, of the *most expensive* part of the army. *Economy* was certainly the real and only immediate motive; but, if a horse and man be more expensive, as they undoubtedly are, than a man alone, the corps could have been dismounted, and the horses sold, a step which has frequently been taken, both in war and in peace. For discharging the 7,025 regular British infantry there seems to be no reason alleged. In the disbanding of the foreign corps the humour of the Corresponding Society and of the rabble in general, the London news-printers inclusive, might, in-

deed, be imagined these same at, and in fact relations which were of this party were dis troops; if there ber of amount disbande operative into a peace, "the h "a day deceived of trick of the e of the the wh 26,000 day, wo of the 26,000 before t This is my lord "again one of t by safe- purity; "midd lord, ne been pr but the in Gre been se to rend much l These degrees been se other c perfect dischar service together depart in a f enabled to assu becomi at the t

deed, be consulted, it not being, at that time, imagined, that, in less than a twelvemonth, these same news-printers would gladly catch at, and retail, as matter of national joy, every fact relative to the enlistment of a *Hanoverian regiment*, in order to obtain recruits for which we are now, with the hearty concurrences of these dreaders of Cayenne, expending at the rate of forty guineas a man! The only reason, however, that was stated for this part of the reduction, was, that they were disbanded in preference to British troops; which amounts to a declaration, that, if there had been no foreign corps, a number of regular British soldiers, equal in amount to those corps, would have been disbanded. So that, the whole immediate operative causes resolve themselves, at last, into a motive of economy; the economy of peace, or, to use the words of the minister, "the husbanding of our resources against a day of trial:" and, my lord, to give the deceived nation just a peep into the budget of tricks, let them be told, that, the whole of the expense attendant on the maintenance of the 26,000 men who were disbanded; the whole expense of maintaining these 26,000 regular disciplined men up to this day, would not have exceeded *one-third part* of the sum which must be expended upon 26,000 men of the Army of Reserve, even before they have arms put into their hands! This is the economy of the peace of Amiens, my lord. This is "husbanding our resources against a day of trial!" This, my lord, is one of the precious advantages of being ruled by safe-politicians; by ministers of tin-mah purity; by statesmen "selected from the middling class of society"—But, my lord, not only these 26,000 men might have been preserved in the service of the country, but the militia and fencible regiments, both in Great-Britain and Ireland, might have been so discharged, if discharged at all, as to render our difficulties and our danger much less than they have been and now are. These corps might have been discharged by degrees; and, the discharging might have been so managed, as to time, place, and other circumstances, as to have rendered perfectly complete, by means of the men discharged, every regular regiment in the service. This slow process of discharging, together with great activity in the recruiting department, would have kept us constantly in a formidable attitude, and would have enabled the ministers, if any thing would, to assume a becoming tone, and to act with becoming dignity, resolution, and effect, at the time when they, from their disbanding

and dismantling system, were, in some sort, compelled to play the mendicant and the spy, in the affair of Switzerland. If they had proceeded with slow and cautious steps in the business of disbanding the army and dismantling the fleet, they would never have had occasion for an army of reserve bill, and for a levy in mass; Buonaparté would never have been able to terrify us with the spectre of invasion; and, perhaps, he never would have shown that disposition and those intentions, which compelled us so soon again to go to war.—Of the stripping which the fleet underwent, I shall, at present, say nothing; but, as to the regular army, instead of cherishing and strengthening it; instead of examining its several parts, and putting all in order against another day of trial, it was thrown aside as an useless skeleton, and, generally speaking, in a skeleton state; while all imaginable dispatch was made to return to the financiering system of making an army upon paper, of creating a monstrous mass of immoveable force, and thereby rendering the kingdom a mere station of defence; a consequence, which was, at the time, explicitly predicted by several gentlemen, particularly Mr. Elliot* and Mr. Windham, and which prediction has now been so fully and so fatally accomplished.—Numerous are the instances, in which the ministers were cautioned against a hasty reduction of our effective military force. This was one of the subjects, embraced in the advice, which was proposed to be tendered to his Majesty, in that address, which Mr. Windham moved, and which your lordship seconded, in answer to the message on the Definitive Treaty. "A scale of naval and military defence, adequate to the scale of our danger, and to the importance of the interests which we have to maintain," was one of the means which the new opposition proposed, for preserving the peace that had been made; and of these words, in particular, the ministers took care to retain no trace, in the address, which was finally voted by the House, and presented to the King.—The only ground, therefore, on which they could now attempt to justify their having disbanded so large a part of the regular army, is, that they did not at all apprehend that the peace would be of so short a duration. This would be very weak ground, indeed; for statesmen to take; but, even this they have deprived themselves of, by calling the peace "a peace

* See Mr. Elliot's Speech, 31st May, 1802, on the Scotch Militia Bill, Register, vol. i. p. 620 et seq.

"of experiment;" by repeatedly declaring that they foresaw it could not last; by circulating, at the public expense, a pamphlet, in which every one, who believed in the permanence of the peace, is called "nature's fool," and not the fool of the minister, who, it is there stated, never could regard the peace as likely to be permanent*; by the whole tenor of the state papers, relative to the rupture with France, whence it appears, that no ministry, not bent on the ruin of their country, could, for the moment the peace was concluded, have ever expected it to last for a year; and, finally, they have fully and formally deprived themselves of this ground of defence, by advising his Majesty to issue a paper, in which he has solemnly declared to his subjects, and to all the courts of Europe, that "the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination†." It is, indeed, very true, that declarations exactly contrary to this, were, many times, made by the ministers; and it is also notorious, that the ministers acted, in many very important instances, upon the presumption of a long continuation of the peace: but, with these inconsistencies, with these flat contradictions, we need not trouble ourselves, in the discussion of the present subject; for, either they believed the peace would be durable, or they did not: if they did, let them acknowledge their ministerial incapacity; if they did not, let them plead guilty to the charge of having, from wicked motives, disbanded 26,000 regular disciplined soldiers, and thereby exposed the kingdom to the danger, with which it is now menaced.—Deferring the other points of the subject to my next, I remain, with the greatest respect, my lord, your lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

WM. COBBETT.

November 9th, 1803.

* The words are: "Really, if there exists a man, who ever did *confide* in the duration of the late peace, I would counsel him to keep his own secret. It will be in vain to charge his drivelling as a crime on other men. He is *Nature's fool*, and not Mr. Addington's." CURSORY REMARKS, 1st edition, p. 20.—This pamphlet has been openly circulated by the *thuman treasury*, and at the public expense!

† See the King's declaration, Register, vol. iii. p. 744.

P. S.—My lord, since I sat down to write this letter, I have learnt, that MAJOR SHEP, commandant of the Dover corps, is a gentleman of great military talents and experience, who has served many years in India, and who went to Dover at the express request of Mr. Pitt, who has allotted him apartments in the castle, and by whom his services are highly valued. Such a man, if the volunteers, as they are called, were under proper regulations, would be a perfect treasure to the district; but, amongst men, who are under no law but that of their own will, he can be of no use at all.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Under this head, there are many subjects, which, were there room, would occupy much of the reader's attention. In the next sheet they will find a place. Where, also, will be inserted the LXth Letter to Mr. Sheridan. —On the subject of *invasion*, which still continues to occupy all men's minds, it may be necessary to say a few words.—Buonaparte does not tell people, at least not the people who correspond with our ministers, what he intends to do; and, therefore, he keeps us, just as he wishes to keep us, in a constant state of uncertainty, anxiety, and alarm, a state in which no nation ever long preserved its liberty or its independence. As to his preparations, they are certainly formidable, though, perhaps, not so formidable as fear has represented them: one fact, however, relating to these preparations, is of importance, and it is a fact, on the truth of which perfect reliance may be placed; and that is, that many thousand suits of *red cloaths*, for the army, have, within these few weeks, been made at Paris, and sent off to some of the regiments lying on the coast, and said to be destined for the invasion of this kingdom. The object of such a stratagem is evident enough; and, if a successful landing were to take place, it would require great vigilance on our part to prevent the completion of that object.—The naval force at Brest is greater than has been generally thought; and, it is far from being certain, that, favoured a little by the weather, the Consul would not be able to send, even in defiance of our fleet, a formidable army to Ireland, where let us hope that God will be our defender and keeper, for there every thing else seems to be against us.